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SELECTIONS FROM PRIVATE JOURNALS

OF

TOURS IN FRANCE

IN

1815 AND 1818.

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BY THE RIGHT HON.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY & SON, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
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1871.

LONDON :
C. OWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET
AND CHARING CROSS.

THESE Journals were found by Mr. Cowper-Temple after the publication of Lord Palmerston's Life by Sir Henry Bulwer. From the interest which at present belongs to the period to which they refer, it has been thought opportune to offer them to the perusal of those who possess the recently published Life of Lord Palmerston.

RICHARD BENTLEY & SON.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 7, 1871.

EXTRACTS FROM PRIVATE JOURNALS OF TOURS IN FRANCE,

IN 1815 AND 1818.

August 29th.—Embarked at Southampton on board the *Chesterfield* packet, 107 tons. Sailed at three; wind light and fair.

August 30th.—After a tedious passage from want of wind, we got into Havre about three in the afternoon, too late to proceed this evening. The white flag is flying, of course; and a little dirty piece of white riband is stuck into all the great cocked-hats of the military and douaniers, but the tricolour seems to be in their hearts. One of the douaniers who came on board the packet told us it was a great pity we had used Bonaparte so ill, that no reliance could now be placed in English generosity, but that it was evident we were not a free country, since the ministers had been able to send Bonaparte to St. Helena, in defiance of the formal protests which were known to have been made against the measure by both Houses of Parliament. He affected to feel much for the fate of

the allies, who were only 600,000 in the midst of the whole population of France, and who would certainly be sacrificed if a scarcity was to happen. He said it was strongly reported that the army of the Loire had gained a victory over the Austro-Russian army last week, and taken one hundred pieces of cannon; but with all this, there was evidently a deep sense of national humiliation in all he said.

The commerce of Havre has suffered much of late years, but to make up for that, Bonaparte has made the town a very fine and convenient harbour. I saw three vessels on the stocks, which I was told, by the old pilot who brought us in, had been exactly in the same state in which I now saw them ever since the peace of Amiens. Upon the same principle on which they have a great harbour without ships, they have a considerable and expensive fortification without strength; for as the whole town is commanded by the heights, which are not fortified, the works could be of little avail against an army advancing from the land side, and are not available against a naval attack, as they do not bear upon the sea. As the captain on guard observed, the works seemed to be a job of some engineer, to be turned probably to his own advantage.

September 1st. At Rouen.—The cathedral contains the tombs of Rollo, Duke of Normandy, and the Duke of Bedford, Viceroy of Normandy, who burnt Joan of Arc. It was shown us by an old Royalist beadle, who walked about during service with a

large-cocked hat on, a baldrick, like that of a rat-catcher, over his shoulder, and a small sword suspended from it, and a sort of mace in his hand. He seemed strongly to suspect that the English meant to keep Normandy, and appeared resolved to make fair weather for himself with English travellers without loss of time. He assured us that two-thirds of the town were generally anxious to belong to us, and for his part, he should like it of all things: they would then be able to carry on their commerce with us so comfortably, without being troubled by "ces tyrans de la bas." It is amazing how prevalent this idea seems to be throughout Normandy. We took almost every possible opportunity of conversing with different sorts of people, and all of them, beadles, barmaids, postillions, hairdressers, boatmen, carters, and national guards, appeared fully to expect that they should be annexed to England, and not to have any other feeling upon the subject than a desire to make us believe that it would be very agreeable to them. It is indeed quite striking to observe how totally everything like manly feeling and independent spirit has been crushed by the successive tyrannies under which the people have suffered since the Revolution, and it is hardly possible to extract from any man a political opinion. They all say the same thing, that it is indifferent to them who governs, provided they are allowed to enjoy *la tranquillité*.

A brigade of English cavalry is quartered in the barracks; they have behaved extremely well, and the

people make no complaint of them. We left Rouen at a quarter before two, and reached Vernon by a quarter-past seven. The road is good but hilly. The country is well cultivated and seems to produce abundantly. Land lets in the valleys at eighty francs an acre, which seems to be an old Norman word, and even the high ground lets at forty francs. The general face of the country presents the appearance of cultivated downs with wide and rich valleys.

Wherever we passed, we heard complaints of the Prussians, who seemed to have behaved roughly. At the same time, when one asked details, with the exception of some particular cases of individual excess, they appeared to have chiefly confined themselves to heavy contributions. The people who keep the post at Vaudreuil were two respectable royalists. The country round belongs to the family of Couflans, who have retained much of their estates. They complained of the Prussians, who had committed some excesses in the neighbourhood. We asked if they had had any English. The woman replied, "Non, Monsieur, malheureusement." They told us that it is an old saying in Normandy, of a man who is working against his will for the advantage of another—"Qu'il travaille pour le roi de Prusse." They used to apply it to the corvées, but they now have more appropriate occasions for using it. We found a small party of Prussians in occupation of Vernon. The Seine is the line of demarcation between them and the English.

Paris, September 3rd.—I went at eight to a review of Prussian troops in the Champ de Mars. There were about 20,000 infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, and Duke of Wellington were present. Many English, but scarcely any French. The sovereigns rode round, the troops standing in close columns, the cavalry drawn up with their backs to the Invalides. The staff then took post, and the troops marched by. The Prussians are remarkably fine-looking men, and extremely neat in their dress. The guards are particularly tall and well sized, so that the whole front rank of each company looks as if it had been sized by a ruler. The cuirassiers are fine troops, the rest of the cavalry are rather slovenly in their appearance, and mounted upon strong but not very active looking horses. The lancers, with their little black and white striped flags at the end of their lances, have a very singular and pretty effect at a distance. The foreign troops all march with a shorter, and more constrained and stiff step than ours. The Emperor of Russia was so much struck with the active swinging step of our men, that he ordered his troops immediately to adopt it. In two days afterwards he had a body of them out in the Champ de Mars. The men, as might naturally have been expected, were confused and puzzled between the step they were used to and that which they were now required to march with: the consequence was they did neither one thing nor the other, and marched re-

markably ill. The emperor was in a great passion, and put three colonels of regiments into close arrest in one of our guard-rooms. His aides-de-camp thought themselves lucky that he did not order them to dance like Vestris, at twenty-four hours' notice, under pain of a visit to Siberia. The weather is excessively hot from the reflection of the sun from the stone houses and chalky soil, but the thermometer is not above 80° in the shade. The English troops are encamped and hutted in the Champs Elysées and Bois de Boulogne, the trees of which have considerably suffered, having been more than half cut down for huts and firewood; but, as it is only copse wood, a few years will restore it to its former condition.

Monday, September 4th.—I went at eight to a sham fight of the Prussians in the Plain of Grenelle, about two miles out of Paris. There appeared to be about 20,000 men of all arms. They were drawn up in two bodies, and after some evolutions of cavalry, one line advanced and the other retired: they did not fire. The manœuvres were said to be meant to represent the late attack of the Prussians upon Paris. The troops manœuvred with great quickness and accuracy, and the Duke of Wellington was much pleased with their manner of deploying from column. I was observing to him the different practice of our army and those of other nations in their manner of advancing to an attack: they always advance in column, we in line. He said he was satisfied that this was one reason why we had always beat the

French. That if troops are steady, and the line is well formed, the line will always have an advantage over the column, from presenting so much larger a front of fire; and that by attacking the column rapidly, they are prevented from deploying, which is an operation that cannot be performed under a close fire. The object of the column attack is to penetrate into the enemy's position and deploy in their rear: if he succeeds in this the result is certain. Twice in the Peninsula the French had established a column on our position, at Busaco and Albuera, but in each instance they were immediately charged by fresh troops and the column destroyed. At Busaco the Duke had had a regiment of Portuguese militia to make a road. The work had however been done before they came, and he was going to lead them back. They begged, that as a battle was likely to take place, they might be kept: he consented, and desired them to remain on the very ground where they then were. This happened in the course of the action to become an important point, and the French made a great effort to gain possession of it. The militia soon found that they had made a hard bargain of it, and lost no time in debating who should go away first. The Duke, however, immediately brought up two British regiments, and before the French column could deploy on the ground it had seized, it was cut to pieces. He said he had not above sixteen or eighteen thousand British infantry at Waterloo; that he started with the very worst army that ever was got together; but that

four or five regiments who had been in the Peninsula soon gave a tone and character to the whole army, and the result was known. The other troops under his command did very ill. The Nassaus ran away, and fired at him when he rode up to rally them. The Prussian army started with double his force, but by the time they reached Paris he was as strong as they were, though he had received no reinforcements, and they had not lost any great number in battle. But their discipline was so relaxed that their numbers rapidly diminished during the march. He had brought 60,000 to Paris, and they not more than that force. The system of individual plunder had been the ruin of the French army, and would be the destruction of the Prussian. When officers were allowed to make requisitions for their troops, they soon began to make them for themselves; and those who demanded provisions to-day would call for money to-morrow. War then assumed a new character, the profession of arms became a mercenary speculation, and the officer's thoughts grew to be directed to the acquisition of plunder instead of the attainment of glory. The Duke had succeeded in keeping his army well in hand. No officer was permitted to make any requisition himself, but was obliged to state his wants to the commissary, who applied to the agents of the French government for the articles required; and the supply being made through channels known to the people, and by authorities recognized by them, the burthen was not felt to be so oppressive as if the

exaction had been made by the immediate order of an enemy, and at the caprice of individual officers. The consequence was, that though both the Prussians and ourselves lived equally at the expense of the country, the first are detested and the latter liked.

On the march to Paris Blucher's army crossed the line that Wellington meant to take, they having got before him while he halted to take Cambray. He advanced through a tract of country which the Prussians had actually been starved out of, and yet he found no difficulty in obtaining supplies. The inhabitants, who had deserted their villages at the approach of the Prussians, returned the moment our troops came up, and confidence being restored, provisions followed of course. The direct contributions demanded by the Prussians had produced very little in money: he had seen their accounts, and they had not got more than 200,000*l*. But in addition to this, part of their army had been new clothed. This, however, as he observed, was a small sum to counterbalance the feeling which they had raised against themselves. The difficulty, too, of raising contributions in money was very great in France, from there being no large fortunes. Property was very much subdivided; the noblesse of course had been ruined, and those of the nouveaux riches who had made large fortunes, had been compelled by Bonaparte to spend them in supplying and equipping his army. One was ordered to find forage, another

shoes, a third trousers, so that he treated them like leeches, allowed to suck, only to disgorge.

Nothing he thought could surpass or indeed equal the British troops in the field. The service of honour among officers existed in no other service in the same degree. He felt always confident, when he put a detachment into a post, that they would maintain it against any force till they dropped. We did not look so well in a review as some of the others, and indeed he thought we paid rather too little attention to the dress and smartness of our men; and that in a military point of view, the *tenue* of a soldier was of importance, and that he would be more likely to be orderly and well behaved if he was obliged to be attentive to the neatness of his appearance. He seemed to think the cuirasses good things, and that they might be adopted with advantage by our heavy cavalry.

The Louvre has not as yet been deprived of any pictures of importance, but Lord Clancarty (British Ambassador at the Hague) has marked above a hundred which are claimed as the property of the King of the Netherlands; and Canova is arrived from Rome, to claim both the pictures and statues that belong to the pope. The Venus di Medici is also preparing to return to Italy. The basso relievos upon the arches and public buildings, in which anything is contained that relates to Bonaparte, have been chiselled off, and the number of plain entablatures is daily increasing. This is perhaps the best compromise that can be made.

It seems that peace will be made upon the basis of preserving entire the French territory, although it is probable that some of the fortresses will be held in deposit by the allies.

I went this evening to the Theatre Feydeau. Henry the Fourth is the subject of most of their present representations, and as none but the Royalists go to the theatre, the audience receives with unbounded applause everything that can be applied to the present restoration of the Bourbons.

Thursday, 5*th*.—Rode out at eight to the Bois de Boulogne, to see some of the English troops out in the open fields next to their encampment. Our men certainly do not look so smart and uniform in a body as the Prussians and Russians, but still they have a more soldier-like air; they look more like business and fighting. The foreign troops look like figures cut out of card, ours like a collection of living men; the former move like machines, ours without any irregularity or break, yet bear the appearance of individual vigour. Their men seem to depend entirely on each other; ours look as if they moved independently, and yet with equal uniformity as a mass. In short, one marks a character of individual energy about our people which one does not see in theirs. I drove to the Invalides. It contains about 4000 men. I was told that they dine at half-past nine and sup at half-past four. They have no regular breakfast, but eat each in his own room what they can contrive to get. In the middle of the great square

is a pedestal, upon which Bonaparte intended to place the statue of Marshal Lannes, who appears to have been a great favourite with the army. The old soldier who told me so, said he had seen the funeral of Louis XV., and he did not think it was much more splendid or more fully attended than that of Lannes. The whole building, on that occasion, was hung round with black cloth, and if I understood him rightly, a carpeting of the same material was laid all the way to the Pantheon, to which the marshal's body was carried from the Invalides. He said he had himself served under Louis XV., and XVI., the Republic, Bonaparte, and Louis XVIII. That certainly he preferred Bonaparte as a military commander, but he must acknowledge that it was unpardonable in him to leave his army as he did after the battle of Waterloo. "Pour moi," said he, "j'aurais mieux aimé mourir a la téte de mon armée." But he added, it was not the first time Bonaparte had done this; he had left them to shift for themselves in Egypt; and "Il étoit méprisé de toute cette armée lá——"

In a gallery that runs along the top of the building, immediately under the roof, is a collection of models of all the fortified places in France; or rather, I should say, was; since the Prussians, as soon as they entered Paris, took possession of this collection, stationed a guard in it, and kept it till about three weeks ago; and in the mean time packed up and carried off twenty-two models, comprising all the fortified places on the north-eastern frontier of France. They

wanted to make the people belonging to the establishment pack them up, but this was evaded upon some pretence or other; and the consequence has been that they are ill put up, and it may be expected that they will suffer much injury in the houses, trees, and other minute parts, during the course of their journey. The old man who showed the models seemed still to have a lurking regard for Bonaparte, though he spoke fairly enough of him. He had done much for the convenience and beauty of Paris, had finished the quays, built a bridge, continued the Louvre, made fronts to some buildings, and added twenty-two public fountains, but it must be owned he was too ambitious. The rock he split upon was his attempt to establish the liberty of the seas against us, and perhaps had he succeeded that liberty might not have been "grande chose." His attack upon Spain, and his seizure of the Duc d'Enghien, in a neutral territory too, were decided blots on his character. "Et dans cette guerre d'Espagne il a manqué d'honneur tout autant que de politique."

I find from conversations with persons in general that the people had suffered a good deal by the Bavarians, who not only robbed and plundered, but were very free in the dispensation "des coups de bâtons." Most said, "Les Russes étoient les plus gentils," and had behaved extremely well. We saw little parties of Cossacks stationed all along the road, waiting for the Emperor of Austria; they seemed remarkably quiet and well behaved. Their horses were tied to trees

or sticks under the shade, and the men were all standing or lying close by them, and ready to mount at the shortest notice. They were Don Cossacks, and the officer commanding one of their parties also spoke tolerable German, and said they had been six years absent from their native country. He was very anxious to know where General Wellington was, and whether he had already passed.

9th.—Left Montmirail at seven and reached Vestres at eleven. The whole country is dreary in the extreme. In many places there is not a tree between the eye and the horizon. This was the scene of Blucher's celebrated retreat when attacked in 1814 by a superior force under Bonaparte, who having fallen upon the corps of Sacken and Yesh separately, and before they had reached the point at which the whole were to have united, drove each of them away, and then fell upon Blucher, who was advancing in full confidence that they were before him. Blucher had little or no cavalry, and was surrounded by the French cavalry, which was very numerous. The account of this retreat given by Sir Hudson Lowe in his despatch, which was published, is one of the most interesting that can be read.

Vestres we found full of troops, horses and waggons, and we were directed to proceed on to the village of Le Mesnil, on the road to Epernay. The village was said to have been given up for the accommodation of the English, but the Russians had kept the best houses in it for themselves.

The appearance of the Russian huts, made of branches, as we saw them to the right along the plain, from the road between Vestres and Le Mesnil, was extremely picturesque. Nothing, indeed, could be more striking than the strange mixture. All along the latter part of our journey, troops of all sorts, Russian Cossacks, Prussians, a few gendarmes, and here and there an English orderly, contrasted with the French peasantry. Here a Prussian barouche, with forage and baggage tied in every out-of-the-way manner; there an English travelling carriage; at one place a French diligence, which resembles a caravan theatre at a fair more than any other machine; at another, a tandem with two English aides-de-camp and their groom; at one moment a great French cart; at another a little Russian waggon with four ponies abreast, made an assemblage of the most motley and entertaining description.

After the review I made back to Vestres to dine with the emperor, and having avoided the crowd of horsemen, found eight or ten of the French who had walked out to see the sight round my home. They said that certainly Bonaparte was very much liked in Champagne. I asked why, and was answered, "Mais Messieurs les François aiment la gloire, et l'Empereur etoit un grand guerrier." They admitted that he was too ambitious, but evidently regretted him. They said the Russians had behaved well, but the Prussians and Bavarians very ill. They admitted, however, that the Prussians had suffered a great deal more than

they had inflicted, and two of my companions stated, rather in a boasting manner, than as feeling they had done anything blamable, that they had been besieged in Hamburg last year under Davoust, and had assisted in turning fifty thousand inhabitants out of the town, and in burning the suburbs. They said it was necessary to turn out all those who had not supplied themselves with provisions; and the outrage of which these people spoke with such complacency was perpetrated while the snow was on the ground, in the midst of an unusually severe winter. But, to do them justice, they have no very lively sense of their own present degradation. They said they did not complain of the requisitions they had to furnish; that was all according to rule, and is a matter of course in time of war. The only thing that they could not submit to was the breaking of their windows and looking-glasses. But the woman with whom we lodged at Le Mesnil assured us that the country had suffered as much from their own troops last year as from any excesses of the allies.

September 19*th.*—The dispersion of the gallery was begun to-day, and yesterday it was shut for the purpose. The Duke of Wellington, as Commander-in-chief of the army of the King of the Netherlands, begins by taking down all the pictures belonging to Holland and the Low Countries; and Austria will take all the pictures and statues that belong to her Italian dominions, and will assist Canova in receiving those which are the property of the pope. The

French are extremely indignant at this restitution, and accuse us of a breach of faith, founding themselves upon the articles of the capitulation between Wellington and Blucher on one hand, and the French army which evacuated Paris on the other. The facts of the case, however, as told me by the Duke himself, entirely fail them in making out their case.

When the sovereigns arrived, a negotiation was commenced for a general restitution; but the most powerful parties, England and Russia, being little interested in the question, the matter was not very warmly pressed; and the French government continued evading the demand in hopes of procrastinating the business till the sovereigns should have left Paris. The Dutch, however, were with much warmth urging their demand, but found some difficulties in their way. In the mean time, Canova arrived from Rome to claim the property of the Pope; and Charles Long and Hamilton uniting with him in strong and urgent representations, the attention of the allies was drawn to the question. A disinclination, however, was found to exist, and a suspicion that our eagerness arose from interested motives. In order to remove this impression, Lord Castlereagh sent in a note to the Emperor of Austria, to state that, as one objection urged against a general restitution was that some of the parties, and particularly the Pope, were too poor to be able to defray the expense of removal, we were willing, in order to prove the sincerity as well as the earnestness of our

representations, to engage to pay this expense for the Pope, rather than that he should not have his property restored to him. At length the objections of France and the disinclination of Russia were overruled, and a general restitution was resolved upon. The first claimant to be satisfied was the King of the Netherlands, who had indeed an unfulfilled promise from Louis XVIII. of a year's standing. Wellington was sensible that the measure must be unpleasant to the king, and endeavoured to carry it into effect in a manner the least likely to hurt his feelings. He said he had never taken more pains about anything in his life than to make a satisfactory arrangement on this subject. His efforts, however, were fruitless. Talleyrand always evaded answering his propositions, and never would fix upon any day or manner for giving up the pictures. At length the Duke's patience was exhausted; and being called upon by the ambassador of the King of the Netherlands, of whose army he was commander-in-chief, to bring the matter to an issue, he sent word to Talleyrand and Denon that he should, on the following morning, send a party of workmen to take down the pictures, and that the party would, if necessary, be accompanied by a British regiment. This step was taken yesterday, and the gallery shut to the public. This afternoon, however, it has been opened again by the order of Muffling, the Russian commandant; but the workmen who are taking down the pictures are protected by British sentries, posted at every

fifty feet along each side of the gallery, and a British detachment mount guard in the square at the entrance of the Musée. This signal proof of the triumph of our arms and of the justice of our principles in the very palace of the capital is a remarkable sight. It was well observed by Hamilton, as one reason among many for the general restitution, that it was almost the only gratuitous and unequivocal proof of victory within the reach of the allies. The mere presence of their armies in Paris might be explained away by arrangements and conventions; the cession or deposit of fortified places, or the payment of sums of money by the French, must be the stipulations of a treaty to which the government of France might consent from motives of policy or justice, but in which it acts at all events as an independent power; but when history shall record that those works of art, which were brought to Paris by victories and held there by the sword, were sent back to their respective proprietors by an allied army in possession of Paris, there will exist no doubt that such a measure would not have been submitted to, unless it had been enforced by arguments more sharp and weighty than the mere principles of reason or of justice.

Wednesday, 20th.—Dined at Lord Castlereagh's. Lord Kinnaird and the Princess de Vaudemont, an old intriguante, were there. Lord Castlereagh did not dine at table, being still confined to his sofa by a kick which he received from a led horse about ten days

ago in the Champs Elysées. After dinner I went into his room. The Princess de Vaudemont was there. She began to attack him about what was going on in the gallery, and said we were a set of "filibustiers." "Mais, madame," said he, in his quiet way, "vous autres François vous croyez que parceque nous sommes très bons envers vous nous devons aussi avoir toute sorte de foiblesse à votre égard; mais quoique nous avons beaucoup de foiblesse pour les femmes nous n'en avons point du tout pour les hommes de votre nation."

Thursday, 21*st*.—In the morning rode to a review of four thousand Austrian cavalry near Villejuif. They consisted of cuirassiers, hussars, and lancers. They performed some evolutions and then marched by. The cuirassiers had only breast-plates and no back-plates, like the Prussians and Russians. The lancers were Merveldt's Polish regiment. The cuirassiers made a tolerably good charge, but, on the whole, this cavalry seemed to the eye inferior to that of the Russians and Prussians.

Friday, 22*nd*.—Went to the review of the British army. The troops were on the ground early, and I got to them by about nine o'clock. They were posted in a line parallel to the great road to St. Denis, with their left on Montmartre and their right on St. Denis. There were 60,000 men, including 3000 cavalry and 5000 artillery, all red coats, and subjects of the king, British or Hanoverian. The cavalry consisted only of the Life Guards and Blues,

two regiments of heavy dragoons, and one of the hussars of the German Legion. The bulk of our cavalry being stationed in Normandy and Picardy, it was not thought worth while to march them in for this sole purpose. The Emperor of Russia, and King of Prussia, and Emperor of Austria, were all present.

The Duke of Wellington told me afterwards that he had not even looked at the ground; that he had intended to have done so, but never could find time, and had only a sketch of it made by one of his officers, whom he sent to reconnoitre it. The Duke had given no orders but to appear upon the ground, and there was not a general of division who knew what was to be done. The first thing the Duke did was to change the position of the whole line, advancing it some little distance forward from the ground they had originally taken up. He then gave a sort of representation of his manœuvres at the battle of Salamanca. He supposed his object to be to gain possession of some heights in front of Montmartre, or rather the brow of the hill itself. He detached part of two divisions from the right towards St. Denis to go round and take the supposed enemy in flank, while he himself attacked them in front. He marched the army about a couple of miles across the country, describing a sort of quarter circle round Montmartre; and the manner in which the columns of infantry advanced, with occasional charges of cavalry and of bayonet, gave one a perfect representation of the attack of an army in an engagement, with

the exception that there was no firing. At last, when those who did not understand his evolutions the least expected it, he suddenly deployed the whole into two lines in the most beautiful order imaginable. There was then a general salute. The sovereigns having taken part, on the spot where they happened to be the whole army marched by, in about an hour and a half. Nothing could exceed the steadiness and precision and rapidity with which the manœuvres were performed. There was no confusion at any point. The men got over the ground at a surprising pace; and when the deployment was made at last, the lines were as correct as they could have been when on parade. The foreigners who had been to the Prussian review, where the whole thing had been diligently rehearsed for two days beforehand, and where the plain was covered with little posts with bunches of straw on the top of them, to point out to each division the ground it was to occupy, were surprised and astonished to find that no such preparations had been made on our part, and that Wellington set out to move about an army of 60,000 men with as much ease as he would have done to move a set of chessmen upon a board. It was some time before they would believe that no orders had been given or plan formed; and Prince Maurice Lichtenstein did not seem to credit it till he had been assured of the fact by almost all our generals of division, whom he successively asked. They were also much struck by seeing the Blues and

Life Guards charge over two very deep and wide ditches, that ran on each side a road which they were ordered to cross, and which they effected with very little loss, having only three or four tumbles. That which our men did least well was marching by. The army was very much admired for its steadiness, its lightness, and regularity, and the care with which it was manœuvred. The Highlanders and the horse artillery seemed particularly to excite attention; and though the proceedings at the gallery had put us out of favour with the Parisians, still there were a considerable number of French spectators, and many carriages full of ladies, a thing never seen at any of the Prussian reviews.

25*th*.—I dined at Lord Combermere's quarters at Malmaison, where he and Lady Combermere are very comfortably lodged. When first he arrived there he made Prince Eugene's people keep his table, which they did extremely well and without any complaint. After he had been there a fortnight it was suggested to him that it was against the Duke of Wellington's positive orders and invariable practice to live at free quarters, and he gave the people notice that he meant to pay for what he had. At the end of the week he called for the bill, and though he had given only two dinners in the course of it, the amount of it was actually a hundred pounds: this he considered as rather too strong a measure of reprisal, and he accordingly turned all Eugene's servants out of the house and established his own in their stead. Every-

thing is to be sold here in order to pay Josephine's debts, which amounted to 120,000*l.* of our money. There is here the arm-chair in which Bonaparte used frequently to sit when doing business: the chair is a very handsome one, covered with velvet and much gilt, but the ends of the arms are notched and carved all over by the penknife which he used to put into full activity whenever he was eager and irritated.

Thursday, 26*th*.—Dined at Verey's with Bruce L. Nervins Ment Breton, a man who had been chief of the police under Bonaparte for three years: he looks like a thief, as much as a thief-taker, and has the most remarkable side look out of the corner of the eye I ever saw. He told us some amusing anecdotes of the Bonaparte family. He said that Napoleon was very much swayed and influenced by them, and particularly by his sisters, who were clever and ambitious women, and who often made him change determinations which he had formed with apparent obstinacy. He said the brothers were most of them weak and foolish, and had all of them the inconceivable folly to imagine that when they were sent to be sovereigns of conquered states, they were really meant to be independent kings, and that it was often difficult to convince them of their mistake. He was at Cassel when Jerome came to take possession of the kingdom of Westphalia, and he said the little man strutted about and gave orders to the right and left just as if he was fixed there for all eternity; and when Nervins hinted to him something about the

emperor, he replied, with admirable dignity, "Sachez que je suis empéreur chez moi." Nervins however, whose particular business it was to keep him in order, suggested that perhaps the emperor might send a general of division to take possession of his kingdom if he gave himself too many airs; and Jerome appears at length to have been accessible to the force of such persuasive reasoning. One day at a *levée* a courier arrived with despatches from Bonaparte. Nervins, who had sent complaints of Jerome, and entreated Bonaparte to give him a lecture, was curious to see how it would be taken, and maliciously pressed the little king to let them know what the emperor said. Jerome opened the letter, and with the utmost coolness and self-possession read it aloud to the ministers and persons present; and as he read it, it ran that Bonaparte was delighted to hear how well he went on; that his administration was so prudent and popular, his finances so flourishing, and his army so well established, that he every day saw fresh reason to approve the choice he had made of him for that kingdom, and ended by assuring him of his undiminished affection and regard. Nervins smiled at the manœuvre, and having observed that a tall officer of hussars had taken advantage of his superiority of stature to crane over little Jerome's shoulders while he was reading the letter, he asked him as they went out what he thought of the letter.

"Think of it," replied the officer. "I never was so thunderstruck in my life. Why, would you believe it, I

read the letter over the king's shoulder, and it was word for word the direct contrary of what he read in so unhesitating a manner to us."

Thursday, 28*th*, *Friday*, 29*th*.—Usual Paris life; going to the gallery, or the buhl shops, or the sights in the morning; taking an early dinner, and visiting some one of the theatres and Lady Castlereagh's in the evening. On the evening of Friday we were much amused by the Hereditary Prince of Bavaria, a very well-disposed man, but of very singular manners and appearance. He has some defect in his palate, and a considerable deficiency in his intellects; so that what with the original absurdity of his ideas and the inarticulate manner in which he gives vent to them, it is difficult to preserve a decorous gravity when conversing with him, especially as he is very fond of talking English, which he speaks extremely ill. Lady Castlereagh told me that he came up to her one day in the gardens at Versailles, and said, "Madame, you Lord Cassele's wife?" She assented, upon which he exclaimed, with a tender and engaging look, "Dahm de French." His fondness for the English and his detestation of the French seem the only interesting parts of his character.

Saturday, 30*th*.—To-day the Austrians made their long talked of attack upon the brass horses attached to the gilt car on the top of the triumphal arch in the Place du Carrousel. As, however, they had no workmen or tools with them, they were obliged

to apply to us, and we lent them a detachment of our staff corps under Captain Todd. Parties of Austrian cavalry guarded the approaches to the square, and in the inside of it a battalion of Hungarian grenadiers were drawn up.

It had been intended to take the horses down in the night, by way of avoiding an apparent insult upon the king, as the arch is so close to the windows of the Tuileries; but it was found impossible to take them down with safety in the dark, and it was also thought that any disturbance that might arise would be less easily dealt with at night than by daylight. There had been some little symptom of a disposition to resistance on the part of the mob, and a brigade of British troops were under arms at the entrance of the Champs Elysées,* ready to march in at a moment's notice. The display of force, however, prevented the necessity of using it, and no interruption was offered to the workmen; indeed no persons on foot except English or allies were allowed to enter the square, so that the mob was kept aloof. A triangle was hoisted up and fixed upon the top of the arch, the horses were slung by a pulley fastened to it, and the cement which held their feet having been cut away, they were hoisted up and then lowered just in the same manner, and with as much care, as live horses are embarked on board a ship from a pier in a

* It is impossible not to be struck by the needless chivalry with which we took upon ourselves all the odium of measures from which we were to derive no benefit.—Ed.

harbour. The erection of the triangle, however, having taken a considerable length of time, only two of the horses were got down before sunset, and the remaining two were left to be got down to-morrow morning. The operation was performed with the greatest success: they were lowered into waggons loaded with straw, and placed under the arch to receive them, and then drawn away under an escort of Austrians to the place where they were to be properly packed. I ascended the small staircase which leads to the top of the arch to see them before they were taken down, and was much struck with the exquisite beauty of the workmanship, which of course was lost to the eye when one looked at them from below. Their age and master is not well known, but it is generally believed they were made by Lysippus, a cotemporary of Alexander. They were originally at Corinth; from there they were carried to Rome; when the seat of empire was moved they followed the emperor to Constantinople, where they were placed in the Hippodrome. There they remained from the days of Constantine till the Venetians entered Constantinople. They were then transported to Venice, and in the further lapse of ages the victories of Bonaparte brought them to Paris, to remain there, as he said of the Apollo, *for ever*. They are now returning to Venice, and are at least likely to continue there as long as they have done at Paris. The triumphal car to which they were attached was soon stripped of the gilt lead ornaments and wreaths with which

it was decorated. I was lucky enough to get to the top of the arch before the plunder was completed, but I was told that pieces of the spoil sold in the course of the afternoon for a Napoleon apiece. A magnificent spread eagle which was stuck to the front of the car was claimed by the staff corps for the sideboard of the mess-room.

Sunday, 1*st*.—The remaining two horses were taken down early this morning, and the car and angelic grooms left looking most forlorn. I met in the evening at Lady Castlereagh's a dark-looking man, whom I imagined to be Alava, the Spanish minister, and a great friend of Wellington's. We were talking of the descent of the horses: he said it had enraged the French, and regretted the manner in which it had been done. I asked in what other possible way it could have been effected. He said the King of France ought to have had another lot of horses made as like them as possible, but of lead. He should then have taken down these in the night, and have put up the others, and by that means all parties would have been satisfied: the Venetians would have had their own, and the French would not have found out their loss. I stared, and said to myself, Who you are I know not, but I am sure you are not Alava. I found out he was the Sicilian minister.

Wednesday, 3*rd*.—Left Paris at eleven, and reached Clermont at night. We stopped at Chantilly to see the stables and remains of the castle, and to dine. The place must always have been dull, though mag-

nificent, and the quantity of low marshy ground and of stagnant water immediately under the castle give it the appearance of being damp and unwholesome. Over the chimney of one room in the small castle was stuck a half-sheet of writing paper in an old frame, with an epigram supposed to be written by a Gascon for a prize of mille écus, offered by the great Condé for the best inscription for a monument that was to be raised in commemoration of his military achievements—"Pour tant d'exploits et tant de gloire. Tant de hauts faits et de vertus. Mille écus morbleu, mille écus; ce n'est pas un sou par victoire."

Saturday, 6th.—Got to Calais by twelve o'clock, in time to make arrangements for embarking and to get on board by three o'clock. As we left Boulogne, we passed on the left the beginning of a tower which Bonaparte intended to have erected in commemoration of his projected invasion of England. It was to have been of a very considerable height—about two hundred feet. On the base was to have been a basso-relievo, representing Soult submitting to him the plan of the expedition, and the statue was to have been upon the top. I understood that the statue had actually been cast, and was at Paris. The postboy who drove us had served at Austerlitz, where he was badly wounded. He admitted that Bonaparte did not care for his soldiers after they were down, and treated them only as so many counters in a game; but he would not give him up as a commander. "On ne peut pas dire, monsieur, qu'il n'étoit pas bon

général certainement, il n'étoit pas a mépriser de ce côté là." He said that he had lost three brothers in battle, another had been crippled, and he himself severely wounded: "Voilà bien une famille de ruinée." He was anxious to impress upon one that the Germans and Prussians had bien *souffrets* in their former battles with the French, whatever they might say now; and at Waterloo, Bonaparte was defeated in consequence of the treachery of his generals.

We embarked and got clear of the harbour by a quarter past three; and the wind being fair, we landed at Dover by a quarter before eight.

Sunday, 7th.—Left Dover at ten, and reached London by the evening.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN FRANCE.

1818.

October 12*th.*—Left London with Shee at half-past seven in the evening; reached Dover by half-past seven the following morning. Embarked on board the *Lord Sidmouth*, about 60 tons, a mail-packet; reached the roads of Calais after a long passage, and landed (the tide being out) at seven o'clock.

We travelled on all night, and reached Cambray by seven the next morning, since, as we could not gain any certain intelligence about the reviews, we thought it safest to lose no time in reaching Cambray. The whole road is extremely uninteresting, and totally devoid of any picturesque features. If Salisbury Plain were arable it could scarcely be known from Picardy.

The sheep-keepers and farmers will suffer by the departure of our army. They must have gained greatly by the large sums spent in this neighbourhood by the officers and the commissariat department.

But I doubt if the rest of the people will derive advantage from it, as the increased demand of our army and our easy disposition to pay have raised enormously the prices of all provisions. At all events the evacuation must be highly gratifying. Nothing can be more galling and humiliating than the presence of a conquering army within the territory of the worsted nation.

Wherever in the disputes which must sometimes arise a foreigner wants to say the most abusive possible thing to a Frenchman, he calls him "Sacrée canaille d'une nation vaincue." On the whole, however, there are as few quarrels as it would have been possible to expect; and the discipline of our army is excellent.

Cambray is a considerable town, and strongly fortified. We dined at Sir Lowry Cole's, and met Sir H. Douglas, and Sir Lowry's personal and divisional staff. Alava, in the evening, told us in a sneering manner, strongly demonstrative of the feeling of contempt that the Spaniards entertain for the Portuguese: "A foreign officer wants a gros Portuguese to march quicker: he means to say, 'vivo,'—that is, go on; but he says 'viva,' which, being a compliment, the gros Portuguese stopped and took off his hat. 'Viva,' again said the foreign officer: again the gros Portuguese stopped and took off his hat, making a low bow." It is pleasant to see the footing upon which Sir Lowry and his staff are with regard to each other. They

are all perfectly at their ease with him, without ever going one step beyond the limit of deference and respect. His manner is friendly and familiar, but never encourages them to forget that he is their general.

As we found that the review was postponed till the twenty-first, we resolved to employ the interval in seeing something, and Compiègne seemed to be a good object to make for.

Between Bonavy and Bellicourt we saw a long line of excavated earth thrown up, which, like the wormcasts on a lawn, marked the line of a subterranean canal which runs below. This canal connects Cambray, where the Scheldt ceases to be navigable, with the Oise at St. Quentin. Its length is about fifteen leagues. It is a great and a very useful work. About a mile beyond Bellicourt we came to the end of this tunnel, and stopping at a little inn by the roadside, descended into it under the guidance of the innkeeper. This tunnel is carried upon a level through and under an elevated ridge of country, and is about five English miles in length. It is the segment of a circle of twenty-four French feet diameter, about twenty-six English feet. The depth of water is from eight to nine feet. On each side is a towing path four feet wide, leaving twenty feet width of water. About one-third of the length has a roof arched over with brick, one third is carried through a limestone rock, sufficiently firm to support itself, and the remaining third is to be vaulted with

brick. The greatest depth of the line of the canal below the upper surface of the ground is two hundred and forty feet. There are no air holes, it being thought that the aperture is large enough to ventilate itself. Though the length is five miles, the man who showed it said that in fine and dry weather one could see the light from one extremity to the other. This great work was begun about the year 1802, by Bonaparte, and nearly completed by him. A canal had long been wanted to communicate between the Scheldt and Oise, and a tunnel had been already begun in another direction, but that was abandoned for the present line. Bonaparte, in violation of the laws of nations, compelled his prisoners of war to carry it on. About 3000 men, chiefly Prussians and Spaniards, were constantly buried in this souterrain, and 6000 of them were quartered in a large barrack, adjacent to the opening, built on purpose for their reception. There was no choice allowed, and no exemption for those whose delicacy or weakness of frame, or whose education and previous habits of life unfitted them for such unwholesome and disagreeable labour. Those who refused to work were put into close confinement and upon a reduced allowance of provisions. Ebullitions of indignation were unavailing. Troops were soon marched up to quell them, and escape at that period was impossible. For where would they have fled to? One or two individuals may escape, but 3000 or 4000 men are too many and too few. St. Quentin was a fortified town.

During the reign of Bonaparte, the townspeople were allowed to demolish fortifications which the anticipated conqueror of the Russian Empire scorned as useless, and which the inhabitants thought inconvenient. Now that the dream of universal empire is over, and the French have found that they may have enemies nearer than the Chinese, these neglected defences are going to be repaired and enlarged.

Our guide pointed out the plain where, as he said, in 1814, an army of 10,000 Prussians was kept in check three months by a brave garrison of 1200 men in the town. The Prussians, he added, were deceived by a letter, sent on purpose to be intercepted, and giving a false account of the strength of the place; representing the weak side to be mined like a rabbit warren, and ready to explode under the feet of the first intruder, and that which was the strongest, in fact, to be so weak as to be unable to resist the first attack. It turned out, however, upon cross-questioning, that this three months' siege was reduced to one attack on the 1st of April, the day before the occupation of Paris by the allies was known at the place; but then, to be sure, this attack was a remarkable one. The Prussians left 2000 men to manure the plain, and the intrepid garrison lost only twenty-five individuals.

On quitting St. Quentin, the first part of the road is uninteresting, as usual, but about six or seven miles from Laon, from the top of a small eminence, that town bursts upon one in the most

beautiful and striking manner, and anybody who was put down at this point without knowing where he was, could hardly fail exclaiming, "That must be Laon." A very singular hog's-back ridge rises abruptly in the midst of a great plain, of which it stands the sole monarch. The sides are steep to such a degree as to require in most places a great exertion to climb. The top is covered with the most picturesque old town imaginable. The sky outline is broken and diversified by every variety of form—houses, round towers, windmills, and churches, thrown together in the most irregular manner. This place is famous for a successful resistance made against Bonaparte by Blucher and Woronzow in 1814, a short time previous to the march of the allies upon Paris. The French made a great mistake in not first seizing upon this position, which at one moment they might have done. As a fortification it might be made impregnable, as it has the advantage of a great abundance of excellent springs of water upon the brow of the hill. Some of the stockades and works constructed by the allies are still remaining.

Oddly enough, such is the site chosen for a French corps of cavalry. The men should be mounted upon griffins, to be able to mount and descend at pleasure. There is a remarkably good inn here, *le petit St. Bernard*. In the middle of the town stands an old ruined tower of immense thickness, and evidently of great antiquity. One well-fed bourgeois, who obligingly came out of his shop to give us information, seriously

assured us that Charles V. had lost 120,000 men at the foot of this tower. Almost all the villages in this country contain the house or chateau of some little seigneur, all of which chateaux are now unoccupied, their owners being too poor to repair, furnish, and inhabit them; and preferring to hide in the crowd of Paris the poverty and decay which is unnoticed in a metropolis, but would be remarked in a village.

One morning we mounted two troopers of the 12th Lancers, lent us by Fred. Ponsonby, and rode to see the inspection of the Russian army.

The force before us consisted of about 27,000 or 28,000 men of different corps. They merely presented arms, and marched past in beautiful order and admirably equipped, appearing to be greatly improved since the review at Vestres three years ago. Woronzow has been indefatigable in the attention he has paid to this corps, and they do him the greatest credit. Still, however, the system upon which they were drilled seemed to me too stiff and too much founded upon constraint. Not a motion or a posture is allowed which the natural play of the muscles would suggest. They march stiffly with their legs, the upper part of their body being bent forward at an angle to their legs, like a *petite fille de Provence* setting out to dance a quadrille. Their waists are tightened to a degree that quite makes one feel for them, and which must be dangerous in making any sudden or violent exertion.

They are still an aggregation of machines, and not a number of individuals. But we understood that the emperor was by no means pleased to see them so much unstiffened, and thought that Woronzow had gone much too far in that direction. Constantine, upon being told by some English officer that the steadiness of the Russian troops was admirable, said, "*Ah, mais, si vous pouviez seulement voir la garde à St. Petersburg! elle est beaucoup mieux dressé.*" Having thus inspected the Russian troops by themselves, we set out at eight in the morning to ride to the place where the grand review was to begin. We reached the ground by ten o'clock, and found the army drawn up ready to receive the sovereigns. Their right to the left of the road from Cambray to Quesnoy, their left upon the old road to Valenciennes. They were in close columns. The Danes on the extreme left, the British next, then the Hanoverians, then the Saxons and the Prussians. The supposed object of the movement of the day was to take possession of the height of Famars, in order to reconnoitre from thence the town of Valenciennes, that of Bouchain being supposed to be in the hands of the enemy. The army of the enemy was represented by some artillery, some Cossacks, the staff corps of the cavalry, and some infantry. Their infantry was supposed to be posted behind the Escaillon, and their cavalry to occupy the open country between that river and the Selle, which latter was immediately in front of our position. The armies were thus separated

by two rivers, and the space between those rivers was in the hands of the foe. The first movement was an advance of all the cavalry of the allies, who were to cross the Selle in various places, and drive the enemy's cavalry over the Escaillon. The infantry and artillery were then to advance to the Escaillon, and force the passage of that river. The Prussians on our right were to turn the left of the enemy at Bermerin, and when they should have got on to Querenain and Astres the British troops were to make a vigorous charge on his front, and carry the height of Famars at the point of the bayonet; after this the cavalry were to pursue the flying enemy, and then the whole army were to march past. The ground was excessively well chosen for the purpose, and the movements well imagined. The plan was drawn out by the Duke and Sir G. Murray, and the former told me that he could not help fancying that he was writing a Harlequin Farce.

We had ridden about half way down the line, beginning with our troops on the left, when the advance of cavalry took place, preceded by a hurry-skurry of Cossacks. We were in the middle of it, and obliged to dodge to the right and left to avoid the different bodies which were driving away, as the lie of the ground rendered their descent to the river most easy. We crossed the Selle with the artillery, and saw some very pretty manœuvring of the British cavalry: we then went away to the right to see the advance of the Prussians, who were to turn the flank

of the enemy, and crossed the Escaillon with them near Bermerin. Their advance was regular but slow. They had been practising the manœuvre for several days upon the very ground, so that it was all familiar to them. Lord Beresford, with whom we were riding, said, "Does not that opposite brow with those solid columns scattered about look like a gentleman's park and its plantations?" They seemed to have fewer officers than our troops. They certainly are slow movers, and it would not be easy to extricate them from any difficulties in which they might be entangled. Having continued with the Prussians till they and the Saxons had got to Querenain, we rode across till we met the redcoats advancing in three lines to the front attack, which was to finish the brief operations of the day. It was not from national prejudice nor mistaken vanity that made us at once exclaim, "How beautiful!" The superiority of our troops in activity and facility of manœuvre is now universally admitted; as to their conduct on the day of battle, nothing need be said of that.

The advance in line down one hill and up another was perfect. Half way up the first height a charge of bayonets was ordered; and with that Hurrah! which can never be heard by an English heart without emotion, our troops rushed forwards, and in a few minutes were in possession of that height. A second charge of the same kind soon brought them to the summit; and it was interesting to see the scampering of carriages and horses, pedestrians and

equestrians, all making their way from the point which was menaced by the charge. The confusion of a number of persons who were caught in a redoubt was highly amusing. After the last charge of cavalry, and before the marching past, the Duke, in order to give the troops a little breathing-time and leisure to form in proper order, took Alexander down to the canal to see a newly-invented pontoon bridge, supported by large long casks. When dinner was announced, the emperor took Lady William Russell, the king took Lady Worcester. Alexander beckoned to the king to go first. The king refused. The emperor insisted. The king was obstinate. The ladies looked foolish. The company expected a battle *royal*. When at last Alexander gave a vehement stamp with his foot, and the king, probably recollecting that his own cudgellers were at Sedan, a long day's journey off, consented to take the post of honour and go first. The second day the king said that, as he had given way before, he hoped Alexander would do him *la grace* to take his proper place, which was graciously assented to. Alexander took occasion in the evening to say to Sir Lowry Cole—"Votre armée m'a charmé;" and all the foreigners expressed their admiration of it.

Woronzow was to-day again in favour. The Duke had availed himself of his long ride with Alexander during the review, to say what he thought of him and his army, and praise from such a quarter could not fail to have its due effect. No Englishman could

be otherwise than gratified at seeing, on the one hand, the extreme respect and deference paid by all to the Duke, and, on the other hand, the manly but respectful manner with which he treats the sovereigns. The perfection of manner towards superiors in rank is never to appear to forget that they are so, and yet never to appear for a moment more embarrassed or constrained with them than in a company of equals. The Duke has not been solely employed in hunting and reviews while in this country, for Chapman of the Engineers told me he had been examining Valenciennes, to see how it would best be taken. The French side is the weakest, but the Scheldt must be turned into another channel in that case; and he did not think it impossible to do so if occasion should require.

26*th*.—At Sedan we found a room in the Duke's quarters, and though it contained but one bed, a division of mattresses enabled us to make two, and prepare for the review of the next morning. The Prussians mounted the Duke and his attendants upon some cavalry horses of their own, and I got a very nice active little dun-coloured Pole, who carried me very pleasantly.

The army, amounting to about 36,000, was drawn up in the Plain of Donchery, about three miles from Sedan. They went through their manœuvres d'ordonnance, which are for an army what the eighteen manœuvres are for a single regiment. They are a fine body of men. Their whole system,

dress, equipment, drill, &c., is copied from the Russians, and whenever a new regulation is issued St. Petersburg a copy is immediately sent to Berlin, that the king may have the benefit of it. They are, however, more quiet and active in their motions than the Russians.

The Duke was much pleased, but the whole day's work had been practised on the ground, and the field was covered with little posts about a foot high, as marks for the different positions and manœuvres. The British army seems to be the only one that can be trusted to go through the manœuvres of a field day without a rehearsal. General Zieten, who commands this Prussian army, required fifteen days' notice to prepare his troops for the day.

If there is a fault in the tactics practised to-day it is want of prudence. On one occasion they brought their whole cavalry to a charge in one line without any reserve, which in case of failure is ruin; and at another they sent their reserves into action to the right unconnected with the main body. I suspect that their generals are not as discreet as their troops are brave.

A Prussian officer with whom I conversed said that the Prussian army is mustered by conscription, without substitution or fine. Every male of twenty years is liable to be drawn, and if drawn, he must not only serve, but begin by serving in the ranks. The only exemption is physical incapacity, which must be established to the satisfaction of a medical board. It was only last year that the son of one of

the Prussian ministers abroad, I think at St. Petersburg, was serving as a private in a regiment of infantry. The conscript serves three or five years in the line; then seven years in the landwehr, which in time of war is attached to the line and marches with it; and then to the age of fifty every man in the kingdom is liable to be called upon to do duty in the garrisons of the fortified towns. Their punishments are degradation, imprisonment, and stripes. A man when first he joins is put into the first class, and the privilege of that class is that those in it are not liable to punishment, except probably for an enormous crime. The first thing that is done with an offender is to degrade him to the second class, which can only be done by a court-martial. Then he may be punished corporally, and the power of bastinado possessed by the officers is in a progressive ratio of rank. The ensign may give ten blows, the lieutenant twenty, the captain thirty, the major forty, the colonel fifty, and this without trial. They have left off running the gauntlet, which they still use in the Russian army; and we heard at Rocroy that twelve men had died of that punishment while in the hands of the Ruskis. Their imprisonment is graduated in severity according to the nature of the offence. The mild species is confinement to a barrack. The next, locking up in a real dungeon. The severest puts a man into a black hole too low to allow him to stand upright, and instead of a floor, it is grated with square bars

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of wood with the sharp edges upwards, so that the poor wretch who is confined in it is in perpetual torture. A very short confinement in this kind of cage is considered enough. Strong men had been known to expire under the suffering in eight days. It must be owned that punishments are not in their nature amiable things, but it is certain that soldiers must be restrained by the consciousness that they are liable to severe punishments, or it would fare but ill with those who have not swords and muskets in their hands.

The king gave us a grand dinner in a riding-school, that was fitted up very ingeniously for the occasion. A low ceiling was made of the white Russia duck intended for the soldiers' trousers, ornamented with festoons of red cloth, afterwards to be cut up into facings.

I had a great deal of conversation with the Duke at the review. He observed that the Prussians were showing us the three kinds of columns used in modern war. The column of one battalion; the column of two or three used by the Prussians; and the great mass employed by the French, consisting of three lines, one behind the other, and each line containing three battalions in column abreast of each other. "Look," said he, pointing to one of these masses, "how formidable that looks; and yet I defy the French" (clapping one hand against the other) "to mention any one instance in the whole war in which these masses had made the least impression on our

lines." The way he usually met them was to cover his lines behind any little rising ground that might be at hand, and let the mass come on. Then when they got within a fair distance, he used to order his men to stand up, to advance, and open a fire upon the mass. The effect of the fire of a long line on five or six thousand men huddled up together like sheep in a fold, was necessarily destructive. On the other hand, none but the outside men could fire to any purpose. Still, however, it was usually found that they all began firing. "Then," said he, "these thick columns began to waver; and as an instance of what an odd thing human nature is, it was invariably those in the rear, who were in no danger whatever, that were the first to run away." So said the Duke, but with all deference to his grace, I think there is nothing so odd in this, and that those who mean to run at all, act very wisely in running before they are in danger, or their running might be of little use to them. "As the French column ran from the rear," continued the Duke, "one used to see the men huddling together and running to the right and left, just as they saw the means of sheltering themselves behind a body of fellow fugitives, so that at a little distance they went waddling like ducks. At Waterloo a column of French was firing across the road at one of our regiments, the 42nd or 43rd. Our people could not get at them to charge them, because they would have been disordered by crossing the road. It was a

nervous moment. One of the two forces must go about in a few minutes—it was impossible to say which it might be. I saw about two hundred men of the 74th, who seemed to have had more than they liked of it. I formed them myself about twenty yards from the flash of the French column, and ordered them to fire; and in a few minutes the French column turned about." This anecdote, related simply and incidentally, and without the least parade, shows the dangers to which our commander exposed himself during the battle.

Sedan is, or rather has been, a handsome town; it contains a number of large houses, which probably were built by wealthy owners, but are now mostly converted into manufactories of cloth. They make here very fine cloth for coats, &c., and they profess that their black dye is superior to ours, which may well be. Their machinery is very rude, horses and women are employed to do the duty of the steam-engine, and their spinning-jennies are real living creatures. After breakfasting with Col. Harding, where we met Lord Beresford and Lansdorf, a gentlemanlike officer of cavalry, we set out about ten, with three Prussian artillery horses and a driver, to carry us to Mezières. Again the military government brought us into difficulties, and before we had proceeded very far, the shaft-horse, who did not at all like a mode of drawing to which he was wholly unused, made a bolt, and we were carried into a great dung-pit before the stable of an ale-house by the roadside. How-

ever, we got safely at last to Mezières and again put ourselves under convoy of the chevaux de labour. The country from Sedan to Mezières is higher and more wild than what we had lately been in the habit of seeing. Between Lonny and Rocroy there is a very fine slate quarry. Rocroy is a wild, dreary, solitary place, fit only for a frontier outpost. The country is high and wet, all pasture or immense forests, very cold in winter; so much so, that the people all said it was like Russia, and that they had deep snow there when there was none at Mezières. Here we were stopped an hour and a half for want of horses, just at nightfall, and to amuse us, had a set of most sulky post people to deal with. The daughter of the old lady was especially cross till we attacked her with those weapons which no woman can withstand, and paid her some compliments upon the sweetness of her voice and the dexterity and skill with which she warbled the notes of a little French song. As to her beauty, nothing would be made of that topic, so we left it alone. The road to Fumay is bad and not very safe; a great part of it runs along a narrow gulley, not much more than the width of a single carriage, and with a steep bank on each side twice as high as a carriage, the road itself being very rough and stony. Still we got over it, and with only one accident, occasioned by the shaft coming undone as we were going down a hill, which might have upset us. We reached Givet by three in the morning, and I got out to walk up and down the bridge while we waited for horses, which we had the

greatest difficulty in procuring, this being the road that all the attendants of the sovereigns took on their return to Aix-la-Chapelle. The peace establishment of Russia is upwards of 800,000 men, and that part of the Russian troops now in France will have to march to cantonments at Cherson, which they will not reach till next April.

It was a beautiful night, a clear starlight, and the faint gleams of light that preceded by about an hour the appearance of what remained of the waning moon had a very striking effect. My contemplations were interrupted by a Russian officer, probably the adjutant of the place, whom I very luckily did not knock down, though his first appearance looked very suspicious, and who begged I would enable him to make a report to the Grand Duke Constantine who we were. The little Russian was very civil. His idea of a peace establishment is: "*Qu'il faut tant faire marcher et travailler le soldat en temps de paix; qu'il soit las de la paix et qu'il trouve la guerre un délassement, car vous savez bien, monsieur, qu'un militaire ne peut pas s'occuper à lire ni à écrire.*" He said what I had heard before, that the peace establishment of Russia is upwards of 800,000 men.

I learnt accidentally at Sedan, that by the French laws no man can cut his own woods, coppice, or timber, when and as he likes, but must apply for and obtain the permission of the government so to do, and no wood can be cut for fuel under fifteen years' growth. In regard to timber, when

cut it must be sold by auction, to enable the government to bid if they like. These regulations, which seem to us so inconsistent with every sensible idea of political economy, are thought by the French wisely calculated to prevent the total destruction of fuel wood, of which there would soon be no succession left if every man was allowed to cut his trees whenever he was in distress for money and could find any body to buy his wood; and, perhaps, considering how entirely France depends on her woods for fuel, and what great public distress would result from any considerable difficulty in obtaining it, this law may, under all circumstances, be a justifiable exception from general principles undeniably true in the abstract. The same laws exist in the Netherlands, and the Duke of Wellington said he had given and obtained permission to cut down the woods attached to his principality of Waterloo, but upon condition that the cutter should be fifteen years about it.

The captain of engineers who showed us over the works did not give us the best grounds for hoping that the place would be very stoutly defended when attacked. He observed that on all former occasions the place had been surrendered before it had been fairly attacked, the commandant having generally been alarmed by the enemy occupying some neighbouring heights. He was particular in pointing out that one work was intended to encourage the commandant, another to frighten the enemy, and a third to prevent the garrison from being frightened. He

seemed to think rather too much of the principle of fear in fortifications.

29*th*.—From Namur to Brussels, almost the whole of this day's journey was on classic ground. The scene of action between the French and Prussians at Ligny is a little way on the left of the road. We were shown the ground on which the Prussian army bivouacked after that battle, and the line of their retreat to Wavre; a little farther on we passed Quatre Bras. There we saw very distinctly the ground on which was fought the battle of the sixteenth, and almost the very spot on which the Duke of Brunswick fell. He had been posted in a little hollow, and was riding to the top of the ridge to see what was going on, and just as he reached it received the wound from which he died. In the low corner of a wood on the very field of battle, and which belongs to the Duke of Wellington, is a tombstone erected over the remains of Ensign Lord Hay, and the Hon. S. Barrington, both killed in that battle, with a neat and simple inscription.

From Quatre Bras the road follows the line of retreat of the British army and the pursuit of the French. We saw the house where Bonaparte slept the night before the battle of Waterloo, whence he sallied in the morning to reconnoitre the English, and finding them where he had seen them the night before, exclaimed, with the exultation of anticipated triumph, "Ah, je les tiens donc ces Anglais."

There never was a more masterly position than

that here chosen by the Duke of Wellington. The inequalities of ground, indeed, were but trifling in themselves, but it being all ploughed, and therefore deep, these inequalities were of greater consequence. Our line was completely protected on each flank by deep and marshy ravines, so that the attack must necessarily be made in front. From the heights of our position every movement of attack of the French could not fail to be seen, while our reserves and cavalry were concealed in hollow ground in the rear, and could be shifted and manœuvred about as occasion might require, without being at all seen by Bonaparte.

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